FELLOWSHIP

April 1943 Vol. IX—No. 4

Easter, 1943

The great ones congregate,
With couriers in their train;
The chiefs and heads of state
Fly forth by bombing-plane.

Their councils wise will pass,
The headlines will forget,
But One who rode an ass
The world remembers yet.

They take enormous pains
To consummate the war. —
This wicked world remains
Much as it was before.

The tick of time will cease
Their strategy and scheme,
But One who spoke of peace
Is deathless as a dream.

From palaces men crave —
From president and king —
The sacred power to save,
Then turn, remembering
A cold and empty cave,
A garden in the spring.

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Behind the Fronts in Europe

by TRACY STRONG

•

The Significance of Gandhi by Stephen Hobhouse

Land of Liberty by A. J. Muste

War and the Totalitarian State by Charles A. Ellwood

15 cents a copy $1.50 a Year

John Haynes Holmes

THIS column this month is a collection of miscellanea. There are a number of things I want to say, and this is a good opportunity.

First, there seems to be doubt in some minds as to the relation between this column and the official editors of *Fellowship*. Thus, in connection with my discussion of conscription in the December, 1942 issue, some friends blamed the editors for what I said, or wondered that an organ of the F.O.R. should hold to such a position. But the editors had no responsibility for what I said, nor did what I said have anything to do with the F.O.R. and its policies and convictions. This column is my own. Its opinions are my opinions. What is set down here from month to month is set down literally "from my standpoint," and not from the standpoint either of the F.O.R. or any of its officials. When I was invited to write this column, I consented on the condition that I be allowed to speak my own mind in my own way. The editors explained that this was the condition on their side also. They did not want to be held responsible for my notions, any more than I wanted to be fettered by their control. It is on this basis of utter freedom and independence that we have worked happily together. So, gentle readers, when you see anything in this column you don't like, blame me; and, by the same token, when you see anything you like, praise me. This is myself speaking, and nobody else.

II

I have no desire to discuss the conscription issue again. I stirred up enough hornets, as well as some welcome honey-bees, in my January, 1943 article in this space. But I do want to clear up one or two misunderstandings that have appeared.

I have been accused of declaring in that article "that conscription is all right if it might be 'carried out by consent to democratic ends.'" Re-examination of what I wrote does not seem to reveal that I said anything of this sort at all. On the contrary, I carefully stated that conscription for military purposes must be opposed by pacifists on its own merits, or rather demerits, "even when enacted by due democratic process." As regards conscription for non-military purposes, I said only that if we have a socialist philosophy of life "we may find many reasons for supporting it." My point was, and is, that the conscription issue should not be mixed up and confused with the pacifist issue. The one is a matter of political philosophy; the other is a matter of religious conviction. The two, whenever possible, should be kept apart.

Much of the discussion of my statement, in *Fellowship* and elsewhere, seems abundantly to confirm the truth of what I tried to say. Conscription is sooner or later denounced by all my critics as "slavery"; it can be "justified only by despots, or individuals with a slave psychology"; it is the foul fruit of an "authoritarian state"! "Tyranny," writes one of these critics, "is an issue at all times." All of which may be true, but what has this to do with pacifism? The pacifist's objection is not primarily to tyranny but to *war*—else might he be taking up arms in this war against Adolf Hitler, one of the most dangerous tyrants of all time. *Keep the issue clear!* Don't confuse pacifism with rebellion against government.

III

Speaking of conscription, it should be said that the Austin-Wadsworth manpower bill, now before Congress, is a thoroughly objectionable measure. Providing for the mobilization of labor for war industries, it has been denounced by no less a man than Bernard M. Baruch as establishing slavery, or "involuntary servitude" as it is called in the Constitution. Non-pacifists are joining hands with pacifists in opposition to this bill, and the chances for its defeat are excellent.

Meanwhile, of especial interest to pacifists is the failure of the proposed legislation to give any recognition to conscientious objectors. To the true C.O. it is as objectionable to be conscripted for service in a munitions factory, or a shipyard, or an airplane plant, as in an army camp. It is elementary that to fabricate the instrument of death is as wrong as to employ it. Therefore, in all reason, to say nothing of justice, the same clause exempting sincere conscientious objectors to war that appears in the Selective Service Act should likewise appear in this total mobilization bill. In accordance with their convictions, and their unique function in the service of these convictions, the pacifists' aim must be to defeat the bill *in toto,* but failing this, we must persuade Congress to write into the measure just such recognition and exemption of conscientious objectors as has now become the tradition of this country in the matter of war service.

IV

To the conscientious objectors who are restive these days under the routines of the C.P.S. camps, I want to commend as a kind of motto the closing lines of Milton's sonnet on his blindness. Stricken in the full tide of his manhood, and doomed apparently to hopeless inactivity, the great poet wrote in comfort of his state:

". . . Who best
Bears his mild yoke, they serve (God) best. His state
Is kingly: thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest.
They also serve who only stand and wait."

When the C.O.s feel frustrated, defeated, wasted, let them take these two lines, *"Who best bears his mild yoke, they serve God best,"* and, *"They also serve who only stand and wait,"* and bind them for a sign upon their hands and for frontlets between their eyes. Then mayhap they may be comforted with the thought that they are *not* frustrated, *not* defeated, *not* wasted, but standing bravely at their post of duty as sentinels in witness

"That God is on the field when he
Is most invisible."

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FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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Back of the war headlines is a volume of silent suffering that staggers the imagination. What some of the effects of these conditions will be on the peace to come is indicated as this writer takes you—

Behind the Fronts in Europe

By TRACY STRONG*

BEHIND the fronts in Europe there are folks: plain folks, suffering folks, patient folks, just folks. The little things of daily living occupy the long hours of waiting. Children cry for food. Mothers haunt the markets. Students contract tuberculosis. Peasants drive their ploughs. Soldiers serve their guns. Prisoners of war walk round and round and round their barbed-wire enclosures. Hostages, refugees, and minorities await their unrecorded deaths. The game of life is being played with folks. Life and death move swiftly and silently across the scene. Yet, whatever happens, folks remain. And it is these folks who will determine the future. Their silence speaks louder than their words. Their words tell of suffering, doubts, and fears. Their lives reveal the mystery that transforms their suffering into divine, victorious joy. Above the noise of devastating bombs, behind the constant shifting scenes on the stage of the political theater, beneath the terrible distinctions of occupied and unoccupied countries—an occasional word, a voice, a story is heard that tells of the deeper spiritual forces which make folks carry on.

A twelve-year-old boy was riding in a taxi with a friend in Berlin. His home was in Hamburg. "Do you like Berlin better than Hamburg?" asked the friend. "Hamburg is my home. My friends are there. But my Leader is in Berlin and I like to be near him." Youth continues to grow up during war time. It must have someone to look up to. It always faces disillusionment and defeat but it wants to be near its leader.

"Not here," whispers the eight-year-old to its mother in the train as she brings out the cherished sandwich. "There may be others here who have had nothing to eat. Wait till we are alone."

"It is not for nothing," writes a Frenchman, "that a formerly happy people has no longer the right to more than 120 grams of fresh vegetables a day. It is not for nothing that a people which had been accustomed to think and speak freely is now experiencing what it means to be gagged. It is not for nothing that factories are being closed and workers are being obliged to go into slavery in enemy territory. Germany will have committed a great political blunder (if in the final analysis it is a blunder) of having obliged a nation like France—and many others—to be able to do nothing but repent, to meditate, and to think of the future."

"Here in Russia," writes a Christian German soldier, "one is brought right up against the problem of spiritual loneliness, where one sees the desecrated churches with broken crosses standing like signs from a bygone age. It is the same with my comrades who, if they do not completely reject Christianity, have mostly a dull belief in fate, though they often confess belief in a God who holds our life in His hand. They do not see any point in having the Church at all. Is this only the effect of hostile propaganda? Is it the failure of the Church? Is it the personal resistance of the human heart against the Cross?"

As a railroad train was crossing French fields and passing a town with all its houses and churches, a returning French prisoner of war exclaimed, "I do not possess them, but I have suffered for them. They belong to me." This prisoner could not understand his people and they could not understand him. Little things like, "Waiter, some salt, please," "a fisherman hauling in a fish that gleamed in the sun," "a piece of salad," "the fruit in the market," "the path that led all these thrifty souls to the pastry shop where a wretched little cake costs three francs," "my first newspaper—or the delights of being deceived"—all these little things made him remember his comrades still in the prisoner-of-war camp as he tried to understand the folks who had remained at home. "The worried man" he talked to, who was concerned about the problem of the return of

* General Secretary of the World Committee of the Y.M.C.A.

the prisoners, stirred the waters of humor in his heart. "There will be unemployment," warned the worried man. "They will be angry. It will cause social disturbances. What are we going to do with them—these prisoners of war—I ask you?" "What, my dear sir, are they going to do with you?" wisely asked the former prisoner.

"We see with horror on the continent of Europe today what a world without law is like," writes a group of European Christian students. "Arbitrary sentences, mass deportations, violation of the right of sanctuary—all reveal the abyss that will soon engulf a world where law exists only to serve the ends of the strongest. The complete upheaval of the whole tradition of continental Europe, the heritage of a civilization interpenetrated by Christianity faces us with a problem very different from that which faces the English-speaking countries. There the already existing standards of value survive, and people are concerned to keep their life at the level of those standards. But for us, all the so-called Christian standards have given way in the war. In the face of a rising anarchy, solid foundations must be found. It is not a question of a system, but of a word to which man must continually listen." "Some of us," they continue, "have had to lie to save a life or to prevent another from committing a crime. Some of us who a few months ago would have shrunk from breaking the law would today do so unhesitatingly to save a refugee."

Europe's Common Tradition

"What are these essential freedoms?" queries a Dutchman. "It is necessary to restate what we mean by law and the freedoms with which no government may interfere. Whence do these freedoms come? How are they kept alive? Only the rediscovery of a common spiritual tradition can give an adequate answer to these questions. The only way I can see is a certain basic recognition of Europe's only common tradition—the Christian tradition."

Speaking of freedoms, the words of a staunch Swiss citizen steeped in the realities of Swiss democracy and positive neutrality express a universal doubt in the hearts of thousands of Europeans: "The Atlantic Charter simply restates old principles whose failure has already been seen. It is just a repetition of the old phrases of the reconstruction days after the last war, spoken with less faith and less enthusiasm."

"He who is suffering always has the right to be frank," writes a French prophet and seer. "You, our Anglo-Saxon friends, are always talking to us about tomorrow, about your plans for reconstruction, about your stocks of foodstuffs for the day after your victory; but we are imprisoned today, we are being shot today, our children are dying of hunger today. The coming winter is for us the approaching specter of death, because we know that we have no longer any provisions in our barns or our cellars, that our harvests are poor, and that the enemy will leave us only what he does not want himself. What comfort do you think that we gain from hearing your radio stations repeat that you have storehouses bursting with food for the day after your victory? Every year your victory is put off for another year, and you give the impression of not being in a hurry, because victory will come by wearing the enemy out. But will we not be worn out before the enemy of the democracies? That is the question that the fathers and mothers in the occupied countries of Europe are asking themselves."

Such are the folks behind the fronts who are waiting to meet you tomorrow. They will be difficult to understand just as we shall be. We continue to watch from the outside the revolutionary spiritual struggle of Europe that has brought universal suffering, complete insecurity, threatened starvation, and the haunting specter of death to the masses of Europe. At a time when America's industrial and military machine is beginning to become effective, Europe is approaching the end of its fourth year of war. The folks talk as they do because of great basic changes that have eaten deep into the heart of Europe.

Basic Changes

In Europe, today, the people are terribly war weary but there is no escape. A dull belief in fatalism sweeps over youth and adults alike. The individual no longer counts. Mighty military and social forces tear him from home and community.

Money, after years of socialistic teaching and present-day circumstances, has lost its power. Youth sees little object in seeking wealth. The former power of the industrialists toppled overnight before the growing power of the state. Money no longer spells power, but paper. Even with paper it becomes increasingly difficult to buy. Materials, on the other hand, often spell the difference between life and death. Marshal Petain summarized the situation in a short interview when he said, "What is money? You can roll it off on the printing presses as rapidly as you like. If you plant it, it does not grow. It is the grain that counts." "The great civilization of France," he continued "depends on axle grease. Without it, the peasants' wagons cannot carry the food to market. Children are undernourished. Students contract tuberculosis. . . . Our people, with their great love of freedom, liberty, and brotherhood, are becoming carrot-minded. Materials mean power and life."

In the midst of this struggle for existence the social theories of *communism, national socialism, and democracy,* have lost their hold on the peoples of Europe. Social and political theories no longer are living answers to the everyday needs. Life no longer responds to a rational solution, but every experience forges its own answer. As man depends less on organized communities the masses on the one hand become more helpless and, on the other hand, more malleable.

Underneath these catastrophic changes *hatred and suffering* have reached new highs and there are no ceilings to them. Hatred has become personal. It even humanizes the masses who too often surrender to inertia. It is not the simple form of national or class hatred when human beings are thought of in terms of nations and then the nations hated. That's the hatred of the last war. Hatred today is chiefly against "that unseen power" represented by the secret police that "sits on your front door-step so you cannot talk to your wife in secret without being reported to the authorities." It is the power that crushes confidence, controls conversations, destroys security, and inhibits all action. It may wear the uniforms of the occupying power or of the collaborators with the enemy, or be the next-door neighbor. Like a cancer it eats out the heart of Christian confidence, on which civilization has been built. It is generally believed that if and when the mili-

tary machine, which keeps whatever order now exists in Europe, is relaxed—that then personal vengeance will be given free play and that there will be carnage, chaos, and anarchy.

Europe, today, is undergoing sufferings that scarcely can be imagined or conceived by those who are not exposed to them. This suffering seems so meaningless. It has produced a terrible hardening of the heart and many young people have lost any sense of the value of human life. On the other hand, these sufferings have also had a good effect. Churches have been fortified and purified by persecution. Nations, in the crucible of suffering, have attained a quite new unity and solidarity. Those who have suffered most will have the first right to speak when the moment comes for Europe's rebuilding.

The dominating factor in the European situation is, without doubt, that the three principal countries have *"lost their history."* The bottom has dropped out of their public life. In Germany, France, and Italy there has been such a radical break with national tradition that there it is questionable whether the political life can be resuscitated. While the situation is quite different in the smaller countries, where the people have been thrown back on their national traditions, there is throughout Europe a deep-rooted belief that the day of the old sovereign nation-state has gone. On the other hand, regimes imposed from the outside, either by re-education or military control, can never take strong root. It is in this field that the greatest revolution has taken place. The old nation pattern, based on the love of folk, is passing. The folk who have remained in Europe realize that the "grand old pattern" can no longer bring to the common man security, peace, and a chance to work. In the words of a well-qualified European who knows first-hand the situation both on the Continent and in London: "In the relationships between the peoples of occupied countries and their representatives in London there is often a notable irritation, with deep roots. In the countries themselves the break has taken place, but the London representatives are still living largely in the pre-war world. Both groups want freedom, but they want it for different reasons and with different aims."

Yet these conditions have not crushed the *new leadership* in Europe. Baptized in suffering, tested by persecution, men and women of faith are ready to rebuild. With deep humility and repentance they are saying to those who are making plans for the days after the armistice, "We believe that on the moral level we shall be your equals tomorrow, that our ideas will be as right as yours, that our reconstruction plans will be as applicable as yours. . . . We know that there are prophets who foresee that you will be called to re-establish order in Europe when, the day after hostilities have ceased, vengeance will be given free play, and there will be carnage among us in our poor, torn Europe. But a policeman is not necessarily an architect. If round the green table of the peace conference there is not collaboration on a footing of equality, and with mutual respect among the nations, the builders will not really build—they will only prepare the way for future international conflicts."

Spiritual Influences

Behind the fronts two mighty spiritual influences are at work that have not lost touch with their history. They carry forward the best of the civilization from the past. They are positive universal spiritual forces in whose weakness lies also their strength.

To understand the first, one must enter behind the barbed-wired fences of prisoner-of-war camps and discover the workings of an international law known as the *Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.* To describe the spiritual struggle in a prisoner-of-war camp is impossible. Pascal came close to telling how it feels to be a prisoner of war when he wrote, nearly three hundred years ago, these words: "Nothing is so insufferable to man as to be completely at rest, without passions, without business, without diversion, without study." Had he been a prisoner of war today he would have added two other "insufferables," namely *without liberty and without privacy.* Millions of young men, today, are prisoners of war. They face "these insufferables." They are "like pawns in a game of chess, swept from the board at the beginning of the game to idle their time in a box. . . ." These sons and husbands and fathers have been seized from the strenuous life and death struggle of battle and, with the closing of the heavy gate, have entered a world prepared especially for them—*a prisoner-of-war camp.* Barbed-wire fences surround them. Grim watch-towers over-shadow them. Home and loved ones are far away. They are in the hands of the enemy.

Yet the prisoners are not forgotten nor wholly at the mercy of the enemy. Over three million of them are prisoners under the law, for they come from nations and are interned in nations that have agreed to the Geneva Convention (1929) as the basis for the treatment of prisoners of war. Their names are reported to their families. Their correspondence crosses enemy frontiers. Supplementary food and clothing parcels are provided by Red Cross Societies through the International Red Cross. Books, games, musical instruments, and materials for worship are supplied by the War Prisoners' Aid of the Y.M.C.A. Representatives of the High Protecting Power,

The Months Ahead

Forthcoming articles in the series "After the Armistice" will maintain the high standard set by the first three writers. Some of the coming articles will be:

"The Economics of a Post-War Order"
By Scott Nearing
Lecturer at the Rand School of Social Sciences

"The Post-War Political Order"
By William B. Hesseltine
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"Will Labor Lead in the Post-War World?"
By Walter G. Muelder
Professor of Christian Ethics, University of Southern California

"The World Potential in American Culture"
By Ferner Nuhn
Author of "The Wind Blew from the East"

"Relationships Between the Races"
By Howard Thurman
Dean of the Chapel, Howard University

the International Red Cross, and the War Prisoners' Aid of the Y.M.C.A. visit them regularly. The prisoners know that the outside world cares. This knowledge helps them in their struggle to overcome the monotony of the "days of stagnant idleness" and forced labor, to rise above the dread "barbed-wire sickness" and make captivity itself captive.

It is again in Geneva where the hopes of a new day are being preserved. I stood this last summer on the balcony of the old League of Nations building where the officers of the World's Y.W.C.A. and World's Y.M.C.A. are located. I looked across the beautiful lake to the snow-capped mountains. On the other side of the lake was the headquarters of the International Red Cross, which, as the mother Red Cross Society, guards the flickering flame of neutrality and mercy to all mankind. The world offices of the Students and the World Council of Churches are further up the hill. Geneva has changed from the political and social center of the world to the humanitarian and religious center. I recalled, as I stood there, the celebration the night before, of the 2000th anniversary of the founding of Geneva. As the people of that free city, in picturesque costumes, depicted the different eras of their history, I realized afresh the struggle necessary for man's freedom, and the maintenance of law and human values. I saw again the seal of Geneva—a half of a beast on one side, and a key on the other—and remembered the words of a great Spanish statesman when he said, "That is the symbol of Geneva and the hope of mankind is to keep the beast in man under lock and key. The beast is out half the time." Today it is almost wholly out, but Geneva still preserves law and human hope.

In searching for the secret of this, I recalled certain facts: It is not by chance that there is a cross at the center of the Swiss flag. The Swiss know how intertwined their struggle for democracy is with Christianity. They believe that democracy cannot exist permanently without Christianity. It is not by chance that the Swiss flag was taken as the symbol of the Red Cross Society, with the color of the cross changed from white to red. Throughout the world it has become the emblem of mercy and service to the wounded, the sick, the dying, the hungry, the naked, and those in prison. Neither is it by chance that at the heart of the three great religious confessions—Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant—there is the Cross. For without God's divine love, revealed in the suffering, bleeding Christ upon the Cross, the humanitarian spirit of the Geneva Convention, and the unselfish devotion of those who serve the prisoners of war and thereby prepare for the days of reconstruction, would not be forthcoming. If the millions of prisoners of war live under the law, they owe it to His spirit, which continues to speak through the agreements between nations, and His witnesses who visit the camps.

The other ground for hope lies in the vitality and power of the *Christian Church*. Of all the institutions in Europe it has best preserved the eternal values of its history, as it has cradled the Christian tradition that gave birth to European civilization. In both occupied and unoccupied countries its leaders have resisted the pagan forces which have swept across Europe and threatened its very life. The Church's members have suffered for their faith as they have clung tenaciously to their local and national Christian communities without betraying their world-wide ecumenical obligations. The Church has borne witness to a living faith both for the present and the future without, however, losing itself in a dream of a future state governed by Christian principles, but listening to the word God wants to say today with all the immediate and concrete necessities that result from it. It has finally seen the love and judgment of God at work amongst His peoples. In words so living that if you cut them they would bleed, Dr. Kraemer, one of the great missionary statesman of all time, now held as a hostage, calls upon the churches to be prepared for today and the days to come:

"In and through the events of our time God has begun a serious conversation with the world, with our people, and especially with the churches, including our own Church. The churches must answer that initiative of God. They are in a difficult position. The time when they could live without interference or opposition has passed. They have to fight for their place and existence. In many cases they have become underground churches or churches under the Cross.

"It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the spiritual and physical suffering that statement implies. Nor is it possible to describe the mystery of divine and victorious joy by which this suffering is again and again transformed."

Six Million War Prisoners

" 'I know of no war experience so shattering as capture in battle,' wrote Harold Denny, the New York *Times* correspondent, after he had been released from an Italian prison camp last April. 'It does not strike one fully at first. It is too unbelievable a disaster. And usually when a man is captured it is at the end of a long nerve-exhausting battle and his mind declines to react to anything more.'

"According to the best estimate, some six million men, or almost 15 per cent of the armed forces of the major powers now waging war, have lived through this shattering experience and are now prisoners of war in more than forty countries on all the continents of the world. Germany holds more than two-thirds of them, including 90,000 British subjects taken principally at Dunkirk and in Libya, 1,300,000 Frenchmen, 75,000 Poles, 150,000 Yugoslavs, about 200 Americans, and, at a conservative guess, two million Russians. It is unlikely that Japan has bothered to take many Chinese prisoners, but she has an estimated 150,000 prisoners of other nations, among them the Filipinos and Americans taken on Bataan and Corregidor, and the British and Netherlands Indies troops captured in the Pacific area. Save for the estimated million Germans taken by the Russians, the United Nations hold relatively few prisoners. Britain, however, before the start of the present North African campaign, had roughly 260,000 Italians and 23,000 Germans, most of whom are interned in Canada; China probably holds around 4,000 Japs; while we, not counting the enemy aliens interned in the U. S. and the German prisoners beginning to arrive now from North Africa, have only a few hundred Germans off submarines and airplanes, and Japs taken on Guadalcanal and in Alaska." *

* Reprinted from *Six Million Prisoners of War*, copyright, February, 1943, by permission from *Fortune* magazine.

Out of the mists of confusion and censorship in India there rises still the monumental figure of Gandhi. Here a well-known English Quaker assesses—

The Significance of Gandhi*

By STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

HOWEVER objective our religion or philosophy may appear to be, each of us human beings who is able to reflect and to aspire has had to construct a world of his own out of materials set before him by the mysterious, unknown environment wherein he finds himself. Within this universe of our consciousness there are certain objects—forces, qualities, ideals, or persons we call them—which stir with a strange and moving attraction the central fibers of our nature, our heart, and our reason; and there comes to us in our better moments a constant longing to know them, to love them, to identify ourselves with them more and more completely, ever seeking to liberate ourselves from the trivial and inessential, the unlovely and the impure.

Providence has ordained that I have been born and bred in a community where past and present have united in confronting me with the historic figure of Jesus Christ as supremely incarnating the infinite Personality which seems to live at the heart of all that is good and beautiful. Thought and prayer and the influences of a still vigorous tradition, sanctified by the wisdom of antiquity and now, as perhaps never before, becoming purified of alien accretions, have convinced me that this historic person holds a position at the heart of the Godhead and the universe, as no other human figure, no other *avatar* or incarnation of the Divine can do.

The same Spirit lives with a lesser but still splendid preeminence in other human personalities, in many doubtless who have left behind them no recorded memory, in some souls whose memory is preserved as the bright and shining lights of our race's history. A few dark patches indeed there may be on their radiance, but these dim its beneficence but little. I think of them all as messengers and prophets of the eternal Christ, even though some among them would not or could not acknowledge him as Lord and God.

Of these historic light-bearers, one of the greatest of all time, so it seems to me, is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prophet of *ahimsa-satyagraha.* Certainly he is the greatest that has appeared in our own day.

Warfare of the Harmless

Now when a Europe, still in part calling itself Christian, in company with all "civilized" nations elsewhere, is straining every nerve in a suicidal conflict, there has arisen, in the midst of an India herself painfully distracted by deep-rooted racial and religious dissensions, a little, frail Hindu ex-lawyer able to inspire thousands of men and women to enlist, in the name of truth and justice, in quite another kind of warfare. A warfare it is whose soldiers try to keep entirely free from the defiling contact of the machinery of destruction, a warfare waged with the innocent weapons of soul-force and "harmlessness," of good will shown even to cruel foes, of trustful humility before God—yes, a warfare, I would say, waged with a willing acceptance of Christ's crown of thorns and of his cross of pain, in strong faith that it is a cross and a crown which will redeem and raise up to God both victim and violator alike.

What are we to think of a popular and intensely patriotic movement among people who are subject to the rule of alien invaders, wherein thousands, it appears, have joyously and confidently accepted as their working gospel such assertions as the following, taken from the lips or the pen of this great leader?†

"*Ahimsa* ["harmlessness" or non-violence] means the largest love. It is the supreme law. By it alone can mankind be saved."

"He who believes in non-violence believes in a living God."

"Non-violence cannot be taught by word of mouth. It is kindled in our heart by the grace of God, in answer to earnest prayer."

"Non-violence is the weapon of the strongest and the bravest. The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but will not use it, knowing that every man is the image of God."

"If blood be shed, let it be our blood. Cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing."

"Love does not burn others, it burns itself, suffering joyfully even unto death. It will do no intentional injury, in thought, word, or deed, to the person of a single Englishman."

"India must conquer her so-called conquerors by love. For us patriotism is the same as the love of humanity. I will not hurt England or Germany to serve India."

"In our holy war, which is directed by God Himself, there are no secrets to be guarded, there is no scope for cunning, no place for untruth. All is done openly in the face of the enemy."

"In every step that he takes the *Satyagrahi* [he who practices truth-force] is bound to consider the needs of his adversary. He is ever gentle and courteous to him, though he will not obey unrighteous laws or commands."

"The *Satyagrahi* will not swerve from the path of justice, but he is always eager for peace. He has abundant faith in others, infinite patience, and ample hope."

* This is a condensation of an article that appeared first in *The Christian Pacifist* in London in 1939. The author is a well-known British Quaker who suffered imprisonment as a conscientious objector in the First World War and whose books on William Law, Jakob Boehme, and other mystics have put him in the front rank of British writers on Christian mysticism.

† In some cases I have condensed or united distinct precepts of Gandhi, as reported by different writers or by himself.

Certainly, insofar as we cling without misgivings to an unjust share of the world's wealth, or insofar as we find satisfaction in exploiting or dominating our fellow creatures, we may well fear any general adherence to such principles of action as these. But all men and women of good will, who try to live by faith in man and in God and in the reality of the spiritual universe, ought surely to rejoice in a movement which, with whatever faults and lapses, has for the first time in human history inscribed such purely life-giving watchwords upon its banners.

It should be noticed particularly that on at least two occasions where *satyagraha* campaigns in the form of civil disobedience had generated among an insufficiently prepared population an atmosphere of dangerous excitement, so that deeds of violence began to be committed, the Indian leader was able, by an act of exceptional courage and after confessing his "Himalayan blunder," to call off the campaign altogether, much to the displeasure and even anger of many of his supporters. Moreover, integrally united with Gandhi's program for resisting the evil of violence and oppression go various activities which express the *satyagrahi's* passionate desire for identification with "the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost," especially those, like the "untouchables" in India, who are to be found at our own doors.

Why Christian Ideals Failed

During the last few centuries the standards and institutions of western society have encircled most of the globe, and in that society the lovely ideals of Jesus have at best been only very partially applied. It is true that they have been a vitalizing influence, supplying a real degree of justice, mercy, and succor to the weak and unfortunate and oppressed, upholding truth and honesty, and raising the great majority above the bogs of a sensual materialism. But even in these fields their success has been severely limited, while Christian ideals have quite failed, as we know, to abolish the miseries of unemployment, of industrial competition, and of war. This failure is mainly due to the fact that almost all Christians, even the most devout, have loved "security" too much, have placed their trust in outward, unspiritual things, in accumulated wealth and in death-dealing weapons, as the defenses of their peace, rather than in God and their own God-given soul-force. We try to serve God and Mammon, we surround ourselves with a multiplicity of goods made too often by ignorant and unwilling labor and by soul-destroying machinery, we persuade our young men to be trained to kill and wound and destroy as our protection against the evil and the needy, and by our greed or selfishness we have often converted the needy into the evil.

Jesus in his great sermon and still more by the example of his own life and death has shown once for all the cure for this false civilization. He calls men and women to learn how to be content with wholesome poverty and simplicity of life (though not with the demoralizing poverty of destitution), to have implicit trust in the care and goodness of God, to value above all else God and spiritual joys and the winning of the life eternal; he asks them to realize their oneness with all men, and to meet the evil will with invincible patience and love, with belief in the convertibility of the unjust and a willingness to suffer and to die rather than violently resist, this being God's way of changing evil men into good.

God in the Thought of Gandhi

To Gandhi, God appears as quite definitely ethical and personal (as well as super-personal) in the sense in which He is so to the Christian mystic. I find no disagreement here. Nor does his Hindu belief in rebirth and reincarnation appear to affect his practical teaching in any way to which the Christian need object. And I find no trace in Gandhi's writings of any attribution to God *as a person* of the emotion of wrath or the function of punishment. It is Mammon, human pride and selfishness, which brings its own punishment and destruction. "God," says Gandhi, "is Love." "He is Tolerance incarnate." "He is the greatest Democrat the world knows." In his interpretation of *karma* as the unravelling of the results of sin, Gandhi seems to come very near to the doctrine of the *impersonal,* self-acting "wrath" of God, as held by Boehme and Law and some modern thinkers, as it probably also was by the Apostle Paul.

Moreover the progressive redemption of evil men is made inevitable by Gandhi's mystical belief in the ideal and therefore the real oneness of humanity with God. "We have but one soul . . . I cannot therefore detach myself from the wickedest soul . . . I must involve in my own experiment [the *satyagraha* movement] the whole of my kind."

On the other hand it is not surprising that western Christians like myself find in the Mahatma's complete program, e.g. in his ascetic views of marriage and in some important points connected with the purified Hindu nationalism which he calls *swadeshi,* some things that are irrelevant and alien or that even deny the spirit of the essentially Christian as well as Hindu ideal of *ahimsa-satyagraha.* Nevertheless it seems clear to an increasing number of us, including significantly many Anglo-Saxon missionaries of the Christian Church in India, that (in the words of one of these) "*Satyagraha* as advocated and practiced by Gandhi and his true followers is *the* central teaching of Christianity—the Cross as an eternal principle for the conquering of wrong [by love] and the transforming of the evil will into a good will by suffering self-chosen and patiently endured."

Orthodox Christians have to reckon with the truly remarkable fact that it is not a member of Christ's Catholic or visible Church but a *sanatani* (conservative) Hindu (consider similarly Tolstoy's detached position) who seems to have penetrated deepest into the eternal significance for human society of the message of the Cross, of the atoning and life-imparting death of their Lord; and that it is he who has been given the power to inspire thousands with a devotion to this message, without compromise with the ever insistent demands of Mammon, of Caesar, and of Mars. One may indeed feel sure that, were it not for the restrictions of the Mahatma's very natural loyalty to his Hindu heritage, he would appeal far more constantly than he does not only to the teaching of Jesus but to his supreme example and to his inspiring, indwelling Spirit as the source of *satyagraha* today.

Ominous World Situation

When I ask myself what are the most likely forms of impact of the *satyagraha* spirit and movement on the course of human history, I imagine the probabilities some-

what as follows. The violent policies and intentions of the "totalitarian" states are evil indeed, but to the religious mind the two most threatening features in the world situation should surely be these—on the one hand, the unwillingness of the great western democracies (so-called), who lead mankind in many respects in the things of the spirit, to divide with other nations in the most equitable way possible their vastly disproportionate share in the control of the earth's habitable surface and resources; and, on the other hand, the vociferously declared readiness of the same nations to use up all their available energy and wealth in the most devastating and horrible methods of warfare imaginable, in order to keep their hungry neighbors away from the share that they claim. This desperate competition for material wealth and domination, coupled with the vastly increased capacity of the human brain for utilizing both the forces of nature and the organization of individuals in order to dominate or to destroy, seems likely to result in the whole habitable earth falling before very long under the shadow of a number of loosely allied dictatorships, whether autocracies or oligarchies, of varying degrees of cruel and materialistic principles and practice. Attempts made by the remaining more or less democratic states to oppose these dictatorships by force of arms, as well as uprisings of revolutionary violence within the dictator states, will merely intensify the general poverty and oppression, the regime of greed and fear; for amid the horrors of modern war the democracies will either be destroyed as such by their more efficient and unscrupulous adversaries or will naturally fall, by the necessities of military organization, into the hands of dictatorial governments of their own.

Thereafter will be established on a world-wide scale another "Pax Romana," atheistic and ruthless in many respects. Yet, just as the Roman rule tended to become more beneficent and impartial after armed resistance to it had been stamped out, so the rule of the world dictatorships, while remaining autocratic and materialistic, will tend toward the regime of a less severe and even paternal despotism.

Gandhi Opens a New Epoch

Nevertheless there will be a widespread and ever-growing refusal on the part of tens of thousands of men and women to become the slaves or tools of despotism; and a Christian Church or Churches, purified by poverty and suffering, alongside of purified Buddhist, Hindu, Islamic, and other religious societies, tending ever to draw into a closer intercommunion, will lead a life of intermittent persecution and toleration. (As a Christian I am bound to believe in the eventual world supremacy of some form of the faith of Christ, but such a consummation may well be delayed for centuries.) The means of defense of these nonconforming associations, against governmental tyranny and against outbursts of mob violence, will assuredly become more and more exclusively a disciplined, purified, and extended *ahimsa-satyagraha,* the vigorous child of Mahatma Gandhi's experiments in our own time. To him therefore, with his forerunner Tolstoy, men will look back as to the opener of a new epoch. For some time indeed the world dictators, having no external enemies, and with a diabolically ingenious technique for educating public opinion and the rising generation in particular, may appear permanently invincible. But the divine spirit in man cannot thus be entombed for long; and the power of the ruling class will steadily be sapped from within. In the first place, evil has an inevitable and progressive tendency to destroy itself, the more so if left undisturbed by any misguided, impatient violence on the part of men of good will. So internal feuds and civil warfare will break out between rival factions of the ruling oligarchies. And in this warfare, owing to the spread of the *satyagraha* spirit of non-cooperation, the combatants will find, as years go by, ever fewer tools and supporters among the populations of the globe. In time there will be millions of men and women ready to suffer the utmost rather than allow themselves to be conscripted as the unwilling instruments of violence, injustice, and greed.

In the second place, there is sure ground for hoping that the subtle influence of good will, radiating through the communities of *satyagrahis,* will gradually permeate the rulers themselves and their supporters. This influence will not be just that of humanitarian sentiment, but will be of those who are constantly inspired by faith in a God of love, incarnated in Christ or it may be in Buddha or Krishna, as Lord and as Leader. It will indeed be *satya,* Divine Truth and the Spirit of Love, the Kingdom of Heaven among us and in us.

The years to come are likely to be full of suffering and darkness, yet they will be full also of light and joy. The writer of this essay thankfully acknowledges how his eyes were opened nearly forty years ago by the stirring words of Leo Tolstoy, so that he made hesitating experiments in voluntary poverty and in war resistance which eventually gave him some long experience of a prison cell. He wishes indeed that his efforts since that time had been more consistent and sustained. He is notwithstanding glad to pay his tribute here to the Indian prophet on whom the great Russian's mantle has fallen today.

> An aged man's but a paltry thing,
> A tattered coat upon a stick, unless
> Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing
> For every tatter in its mortal dress.

So wrote (without stress, I think, on the epithet "paltry") a great poet of the spiritual who has but recently left us. And just as the aged Yeats could truly say "my muse is still young," so the message of *soul-force* that comes to us from the lips of Mohandas Gandhi's toil-worn and aged body is young, triumphantly young, younger even than it was forty-five years ago, when he was making his first brave "experiments with truth." For has he not in the course of years been growing by slow degrees more incorporate with the eternal youth of the Godhead, with the strength of the Divine humility, with the Divine life that dies to give men more abundant life? It may be that, as Christians or as social philosophers, we can discern limitations upon the clearness of his vision; nevertheless Gandhi is the great soul, the *mahatma* of our day, the youthful prophet of a redeemed humanity, a regenerated society, of a world yet to be born, a world already, if we also will but do our part, in its birth throes; and we, who stand beneath the shadow of Jesus Christ, reverently salute him and all true *satyagrahis* as members of the same company, as fellow citizens of the eternal City of God, the City of our dreams to be.

Is optimism about the maintenance of American civil liberties during war time justified? Is the government really concerned with defending freedom of speech? Is it still a—

Land of Liberty

By A. J. MUSTE

ON Lincoln's birthday, appropriately, the American Civil Liberties Union held its annual luncheon. Well-known protagonists of civil liberties, such as Roger Baldwin, John Haynes Holmes, Elmer Rice, and Morris L. Ernst, reported briefly on "the state of the nation." Their reports were in the main highly optimistic.

There is obviously some ground for the satisfaction expressed by present leaders of the A.C.L.U. The situation is in many respects better than in the last war. Critics of the Roosevelt administration are today largely free to speak. The prediction made by the A.C.L.U. in 1941 that this administration would not prosecute for expression of opinion generally has been fulfilled. The provision in the Selective Service Act relating to conscientious objectors represents an advance over the last war in that it is not limited to members of a few sects, and conscience is recognized as an individual matter.

The general state of the public mind is more calm and sane than in World War I. People are not being tarred and feathered for refusing to buy war bonds. The situation is notably better in the churches. Pacifist ministers, for the most part, retain their pulpits. Official bodies have come much more slowly to backing the war and still exhibit restraint in doing so.

There is a decidedly different side to the above picture but before presenting this it will be revealing to review some of the reasons why people presumably very sensitive about civil liberties find so much to praise and so little to "view with alarm."

1. The government is not using such openly repressive measures to secure national unity as it did the last time, for one reason because there is much less working-class opposition to and criticism of the war than before. Then the syndicalist and largely anti-militarist Industrial Workers of the World, under the leadership of such men as Bill Haywood and Carlo Tresca, had a large following. Among migrant workers there was strong organized anti-conscription activity. The Wilson administration felt it necessary to throw the whole leadership of the I.W.W. into jail.

2. Contrary to nearly all of its European counterparts, the Socialist Party of the United States refused to support the First World War. It had in those days a large following among garment workers, machinists, and miners. It had in Eugene Debs a dynamic and beloved leader—whom the government also put into jail. Multitudes of workers expected that under socialist or communist leadership the war would end in a revolution that would bring freedom and abundance to the masses, and this was a disturbing element.

3. The more radical intellectuals also were much more skeptical and critical about the last war than they are now.

4. In the present war there was a period when a combination of communist leadership and Irish membership in some unions furnished opposition that might have made trouble. But with the collapse of the Hitler-Stalin pact the Communists became the foremost promoters of the war effort. It is organized working-class opposition, in its immediate effects on recruiting and war industry, that is hardest to deal with, making the authorities anxious and nervous, thus causing them to resort to repressive measures.

5. It should be borne in mind also that governmental agencies, with the experience of the last war and the resources of modern psychology and propaganda at their command, are much more skilful and subtle in handling people and organizations than governments were in the last war. Neither the civilian nor military authorities in the period following 1918 looked back with much pleasure to the brutal way in which conscientious objectors were often treated in the last war, and the attention that was attracted to those among them who with the utmost heroism endured or protested against such treatment. The situation is being more delicately handled now.

Liberals in Government

6. Among leading figures in the administration there are those who are, on principle, liberals and firm believers in civil liberty and the democratic process. That fact has, in my opinion, a good deal to do with the comparative freedom that pacifists and pacifist organizations today enjoy. These men probably are also somewhat influenced by the fact that this is allegedly a war against terrorism and dictatorship; and it is politic under the circumstances to refrain, as far as possible, from employing here the methods of terrorism and repression.

7. The excellent work done by the American Civil Liberties Union for many years, the demonstrations it has given of its practical devotion to freedom of utterance for all—even those whose views were most detested by the members of its Board of Directors—and the prestige it has thus won, constitute another reason for the favorable aspects of the present situation.

8. Even supporters of the war are foremost in pointing out that the masses are emotionally less "sold" on this war, less excited about it, than they were the last time. We do not pause here to discuss the reasons. The fact is indisputable. Neither civilians nor soldiers want to shout, beat drums, or listen to super-heated oratory. Under the circumstances, they feel less inclination to persecute those who do not agree with them. For that matter, every pacifist has had the experience of finding, in private conversation, concurrence from people who might least be expected to agree with him!

9. Less emotional commitment to the war, less war fever, and yet—as we pointed out earlier—less organized opposition to the war program among the masses! What does that mean? Several things probably. But I am convinced that one of the most important factors is that the average individual feels that as such he is helpless. Everything, including his "own" union and farm organization, for example, is highly organized and centralized. Everything is big; issues are complicated. His individual opinion and action seem to count for little, and the job of organizing a new instrumentality—a new political party in the United States or even an effective opposition in his own union appears to have two, if not three, strikes against it from the start. Hence a feeling of helplessness and apathy, a feeling of "what can you do except go along?" While they are in that mood, while their own economic status is still tolerable, and the government is relatively tolerant, these people will not persecute pacifists. Clearly, however, they are not material from which virile democracies are built. Given economic stress and insecurity they will respond to the wild call of the fascist demagogue.

This suggests that the tendency to be complacent about the outlook for freedom in this country may be unwarranted. I am convinced that it is—yes, that vigilance is the price of liberty, more than at any other time in our history.

Real Test to Come

The real test has not yet come. Not even if we confine our attention to the duration of the war. There are many signs of a tightening up at this very moment. We do not yet know what will happen when the casualties become really heavy; if the war drags on and the restrictions on food, travel, and amusement increase; or when, if such a time is coming, American armies begin to roll ahead and the lust for victory is aroused.

Even if we think we shall come through the war with a fair record in this respect, we shall do well not to feel too much "at ease in Zion." The last time the post-war period was stormier than the war period itself. The Palmer Raids, red baiting, Lusk Committee investigations, union smashing, American Legion swashbuckling, came after the war. During a war the immediacy of the threat from without produces a measure of social unity in a nation; conflicting tendencies and forces in a measure restrain themselves because it is politically disadvantageous to appear to be responsible for military defeat. It is the period toward the end of a war, when the military outcome has been determined, and in the post-war period that arises what is called a "revolutionary situation." The period following the last war gave the world its first totalitarian regimes, both of the Right and of the Left.

That the coming post-war situation in the United States may well lend itself to such a development is fairly obvious. World conditions will be far more disturbed than in the 1920's. It is widely accepted that the United States will have to "police" large sections of the earth and must have a tremendous military organization for that purpose. Fear of mass unemployment and its consequences at home will confirm the policy of keeping large forces mobilized. Thus it will be said that "the emergency" continues and that, under the circumstances, the government must maintain dictatorial powers as the only way to avert anarchy.

Now consider the appalling extent to which the instruments of dictatorship have already been forged, in some cases put into operation, or are being forged. Space does not permit us to do more than catalog them.

Weapons of Dictatorship

1. Before the United States entered the war, a peacetime military conscription act was adopted for the first time in American history. A bill—the Gurney-Wadsworth—to make conscript military training and service a permanent feature of American life after the war is now before Congress. If the churches expect to make good on their pronouncements that military conscription must be a purely temporary measure they must lose no time in scotching this bill. At the moment there is no indication that they are aware of the danger; and not much reason to think that they will do anything. Many leaders seem likely to fear that somehow intransigeant opposition would not be good for the war effort. But if this measure is adopted, the Federal Council's Commission on a Just and Durable Peace should dissolve itself. Obviously such a peace and permanent military conscription would be irreconcilable.

2. The Austin-Wadsworth Bill for conscription of women, labor, and industry—all-over mobilization—is also before Congress. The unions, if this measure is adopted, will be destroyed or at least completely at the mercy of the government. Other free associations also will be rendered helpless. Churches already have been made agencies for collecting war taxes for the state. The A.C.L.U. is not opposing this labor-conscription bill—any more than it did the Burke-Wadsworth Act—though it does advocate provision for conscientious objectors. Such an attitude as this, on the part of the foremost protagonists of civil liberties in this country, would have been simply unthinkable twenty-five years ago. That is another appalling index of how far we have retrogressed.

3. Under the Presidential Order of February 19, 1942, military commanders in this country have the power to remove any citizen from any area and compel him without a hearing to take up residence elsewhere. "Military necessity" as interpreted by a general, though there may be no fighting within a thousand miles, is enough. The American Civil Liberties Union will not contest the constitutionality of this order, though it has opposed in the courts every application of the order by the military authorities, contending that so sweeping a power should be entrusted to civilian officials alone and under restraints to insure their reasonable exercise.

4. For American citizens of Japanese ancestry we have concentration camps. We have tens of thousands of them behind barbed wire, guarded by soldiers.

5. In the Smith Act—similar to the Alien and Sedition Laws of more than a century ago—we have an instrument for suppressing all dissenting opinion. All short-wave radios in this country are under Office of War Information supervision. In other ways there is censorship of news going out of and coming into the country.

6. The universities and colleges have been largely taken over by the military. So far as the institutions for men are concerned, the liberal studies are out "for the duration." Faculties may disintegrate. Many institutions have gone or will go "to the wall." After the war, it seems very likely that colleges will depend directly or indirectly

on government support. Irwin Edman recently summarized the danger in these words: "It is not inconceivable that the brushing aside of the liberal studies now would be the beginning of their permanent exile. We should then have a generation that would have no use for political freedom because it had lost a care for and a discipline in those arts and interests which constitute the free mind . . . A college generation is only four years, and four years is time enough to impose a philistine barbarism on a society; Hitler did it in less."

7. Finally, there is the High School Victory Corps program—an instrument for the militarization and regimentation of adolescent youth.

Add to all the foregoing the concentration of control over economic life that proceeds apace as big industry wins every major battle with or within the administration; the immense power that will rest in the hands of the military and the returned soldiers; the terrific tensions in the racial situation as affecting Negroes, Orientals, and to a lesser extent at the moment the Jews; and the mighty, hardly-concealed struggle for power in Washington where reactionaries are much more blatant and confident than they were at a comparable stage in the last war—and it seems clear that those who love freedom, and who have believed that it was America's mission and responsibility to give leadership in building a democratic life, face a gigantic task. They must begin by patiently, vigorously, and *relentlessly* opposing the anti-democratic measures already being proposed or carried out, at the same time resolutely building those small fellowships within which freedom and brotherhood live and which tryannies destroy only to find that "after three days" they rise again to power.

War and the Totalitarian State

By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD*

MANY Americans doubtless were shocked a few weeks back to learn of the prohibition of the publication of the Bible in Germany. Many Americans also will be shocked to be told that our country is entering upon the same path that in Germany has finally led to the prohibition of Bible publication. Adolf Hitler is not the first leader who has perceived that a literal acceptance of Christianity is not favorable to the success of his militaristic policies. Every totalitarian state this world has known has been produced by militarism. Whether totalitarianism has been exemplified by Sparta, by Japan, or by Germany, in every case it has been the product of "military tacticians" who have believed that everything should be bent to the one end of military success. Religions, educational policies, moral ideals that have stood in the way, have been banished, if possible, or at least made harmless. History presents no instance in which this has not been true.

That we are entering upon the same pathway of making our whole country a military garrison, with only the single object of military victory, seems obvious. The persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses, with hundreds of them thrown into jail because they refused to register, is only one little bit of evidence, though we should not neglect to note that the Witnesses are but a primitive Christian sect that takes the teachings of Christ literally. A more far-reaching danger is the Austin-Wadsworth "National War Service Act" that would conscript the labor of all men between eighteen and sixty-five and all women between eighteen and fifty. This is plainly an effort to make the whole country a military garrison. Another measure, the Gurney-Wadsworth Bill would fasten military conscription in peace time as well as war time upon the country permanently.

Further evidence of militarization, that has disturbed very few, however, is that the present War Manpower Commission, while excepting students in the physical sciences and engineering from immediate draft, makes no exception for students in liberal arts who are preparing for spiritual leadership in some line other than the ministry—as if the country would not need spiritual leadership until and after this war is finished! Incidentally, it has been almost as much of a disgrace to our colleges and universities as to the national administration itself that they have seen little necessity to keep alive liberal education in the present crisis.

One hundred and fifty years ago Germany was noted for its piety and general religious spirit. Its philosophers and theologians, along with its great literary men, made it, as was often said, "the home of the human spirit." But Germany about that time entered upon a policy of universal compulsory military education of all of its young men. Every German youth was conditioned not only to the techniques of military training, but conditioned to think and feel from the military point of view. The military tactician came more and more to rule in this land that had been frequently acknowledged to be the most cultured country in all Europe. More and more, Germany became a military garrison, and today it has come to prohibit the publication of the Bible. There is no mystery, however, in the fall of this "most cultured land" down to the level of a military garrison. It was all accomplished by a century of training in which every German youth was conditioned to think, feel, and act as military tacticians taught that they should think, feel, and act; namely, to uphold always *at all costs* the military system, because only in that system "was there safety for the Fatherland."

Now we in the United States are told that we must have the same system of universal military training for all of our youth. They also must be conditioned to think, feel, and act so as to uphold the military system, for in that alone is there safety for our country. The word "safety" and "security," however, come to have no meaning when they point to the destruction of the spiritual part of our civilization. Will America also be prohibiting the printing of the Bible one hundred and fifty years from now?

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Letter to A Friend

I am to go to prison, and you ask
How do I feel and why should I do this thing?
You point to Freedom, and you say that I
Who have not known confinement will not take
To his poor company. Freedom is good,
You say, and he detests confinement. Well,
That is quite true . . .
Confinement will not be congenial
To me who have for long well known and friended
Freedom, this I know. No, I am not fooled:
This will not be sport; I shall not like
To spend my precious time for long imprisoned.

I shall be gone from you for quite some time;
But I will not leave Freedom; for Freedom
Himself shall not leave me! Into my cell
He goes with me, that one. Oh, we shall leave
Old Liberty, his kin; but Freedom is
The head of the house and my especial friend.
(I never have known Liberty too well.)
In prison or at home, Freedom and I
Shall live; and we live well. Few things if any
Have power to dim our life together. We
Will both come forth from prison strong when time
Sufficient for the satisfaction of
The unhappy fellows who have sent us there
Is passed; and we will be as fit as ever,
Quite unharmed. I think we shall have grown.
God is our fuehrer, as one man has said
Who spent some time in similar retreat;
And we need not look to earth-bound men to find
Him that we follow. For me and Freedom,
A fellowship among ourselves and God
Is good enough for us to keep us sweet,
Even if we were not in spirit joined
By many others, fools too in Freedom's service.
We will not come forth bitter, have no fear.

But you have asked me why I do this, as well
As how I feel. For one thing, friend, dear Freedom
Would desert me if I did another thing:
He is my friend on his own terms, and just
As soon as I depart in the least from those
Fair terms of his, he leaves me to myself
And any others who have standards not
So high, who would applaud my leaving his,
To them, hard terms. I must admit, however,
That I have been his friend now for so long—
We have been inseparable for all
These all too short few years that I have lived—
That I find cleaving to him, terms and all,
Far easier and far more comforting
Than I could ever find those easier terms.

I mentioned God before, in terms of fellowship;
And therein lies another reason why
I cannot for the life of me give in,
Let down, or in any way give up those things
Which means so much to such a Leader as
This God who lets himself be known my friend.
I have respect as well as love for this
Supreme God-friend, and I have all my life
Consciously and unconsciously
Tried to work as he works, tried to live
By imitating him in my weak way.
I have more caricatured than imitated
Him, I know; still I am caught by my
Life-long intent; and weak though I have been
And am, and poorly though I have lived, to judge
My life by that superb example God
In his love has given me, I yet cannot
Get my consent to act as grossly bad,
As weakly evil as the state this day
Would have me act. This state's alternative
I find that I can do, and since I can
I must. Now this is all there is to why
I go, with Freedom and in fellowship
With God to that sad place called still a prison.

DAVID WHITE.

February, 1943—David White, Field Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, was sentenced to five years in a federal penitentiary for refusal to obey the conscription act.

Hymn

Reconciling Love of God,
Light of all our seeing,
Holy Cross of Christ our Lord,
Capture all our being.
Touch our tongues to speak thy Grace
In every dark war-shadowed place,
Braving hatred's brazen face,
With thy will agreeing.

Where the strife of men abounds,
Bid us pitch our dwelling,
On the maddest battlegrounds
Jesus' mercy telling;
Pointing clear the better way,
Scorning what avengers say,
Glad the utter price to pay,
By our love compelling.

Reconciling Love of God,
Hold us in thy keeping,
Now while vengeance swings her rod,
Spur us from our sleeping.
Waken us to meet this hour;
Arm us with the Spirit's power,
Till shall pass red hatred's shower
And the night of weeping.

JOHN WOOLMAN BRUSH

On the Race Relations Front—

Jim Crow in the Army

By A SOLDIER

WHEN we stepped off the train at Camp Upton—long lines of fellows in civilian clothes, hugging suitcases—I felt very much stirred by the scene. We filed into a huge sort of warehouse, hundreds upon hundreds of men, each taking his place in line as a band blasted out "God Bless America." When the vast room was filled, an officer spoke to us over the microphone. He welcomed us, of course, to the army. Then he said that we were to step up, as our names were called out, for a physical examination. "We're going to call you men out in three sections," shouted the voice. "First, those men who were inducted at Fort Jay, Governor's Island; second, the men from Utica; and third, all the Negroes."

This announcement came as something of an abrupt shock to me. My new enthusiasm vanished as swiftly as did the members of the brass band, who had finished their job and were stealing out. Now the names were called out and slowly the whites were being weeded from the ranks, leaving a residue of Negroes standing behind.

On the train from New York City it was the Negroes who had been the liveliest, most enthusiastic recruits, the biggest clowns, and the best company. But from this point on we were only to see them when they passed us in long dark files, herded along separate grooves to different destinations.

From Camp Upton I was sent for my basic training to a Southern training center. Here was the traditional South. On the busses that took soldiers from camp to the near-by town Negroes had to sit in the rear. And in the town itself were the usual signs, "Whites Only Served Here." White soldiers, furthermore, were warned not to pass through the colored section. It was something I wasn't used to; I didn't like it. One day I was moved to protest.

I had planned to go to Richmond for the weekend and stood waiting for the train on the platform at————. It happened that I had been standing in the colored section. I was warned away by a porter and moved off grudgingly, but evidently not far enough, for when the train came into the station, as I was about to climb on, an M.P. shouted at me, "Get off! That's a colored car." With resentment and shame I obeyed him and moved up one car forward. In this car, however, I was pleased to find that the races were mixed—about two-thirds white to one-third Negro—and the men were sitting together. What was much more surprising, the M.P.s, who paraded with their clubs up and down the aisle, seemed to be taking no action whatever. This is fine, I thought! Perhaps they're not going to do anything!

But I was wrong. For as soon as the train pulled out the M.P.s began shouting, "All Negroes to the rear car! Get up! All Negroes to the rear!" Most of the Negroes stood up patiently, wearing their look of long resignation; but not all were so resigned. I saw one of them angrily jerk his hat from the rack and as he moved down the aisle his black face blazed with indignation. I watched them pass—and did nothing. I felt sick with dismay—but what could anybody do?

I had been reading the New Testament and it lay on my lap. Now, as my eye fell on it, I felt that hypocrisy and inaction had gone far enough. Under an impulse (futile or not, who can say?) I got up and walked to the rear.

One of the M.P.s stopped me: "There are no seats back there." But I brushed by him. Later on he told me that he had meant to lam me with his club, but luckily it wasn't necessary, for I immediately barged into the arms of another M.P., a corporal.

"Where do you think you're going?"

"I want to go back to the Negro car," I said. "I want to tell them that there are white soldiers on this train who resent racial discrimination."

"You what? . . . You resent . . . Why, you. . . ." And the corporal gripped my arm, twisted it behind my back, and gave me the bum's rush.

After shoving me through several cars, he finally plunked me down in an empty seat and detailed a couple of other M.P.s to keep watch over me until we reached Richmond. At this point, I began to make a little speech to the soldiers who were sitting in adjoining seats. I told them what I had done and why I had been arrested and what I thought of Jim Crow. The M.P.s tried to silence me: "Keep quiet, you, or I'll make you quiet!" But since I had spoken my piece I settled back in my seat, being very much surprised at the calm—and happiness—I felt at that moment, and began to thumb through my New Testament.

"You'd *better* say your prayers, buddy," said the corporal. "You're going to need them tonight!"

Of course there is no way of knowing what the other soldiers thought of what I had said. Some smiled in amusement and undoubtedly chalked me up as a crackpot. Others looked more serious. But one M.P., who sat next to me for a while, said quietly, "I feel the way you do. I don't like it either."

At Richmond, the M.P.s grabbed my belt, twisting it into the small of my back, and thereby steered me through the station. They used movie-language: "One false move out of you, buddy. . . ." When we got outside I was told to stand by the wall. "You'd better not try to escape. I warn you, I'm a crack shot." Oddly enough, I felt amused by all this. It seemed unreal and absurd. But they glared at me convincingly enough. . . .

We arrived at the prison. My name was given at the desk. My money, belt, tie, and other articles were handed over to the authorities for safekeeping, and I was led down a cold gray hall to a cell, where the gate clanged and locked me in. Immediately, all the lights went out, plunging me into complete blackness. I couldn't see a thing. So there was nothing to do but sit on my iron cot and await developments. I was there for about five hours.

Back at my camp, after my release, when my commanding officer called me up to see him, I was charged with violation of one of the Articles of War and "disorderly conduct and causing disturbances in a public conveyance." At first I objected to this charge, for it sounded as if I had been drunkenly committing acts of hoodlumism. (Of course, there was no mention of Jim Crow.) But I was assured that this was merely correct legal language and I didn't want to quibble. My commanding officer seemed like a decent fellow; he had listened to my offense with impartiality. So I signed the charge and accepted the punishment, which involved three hours of "hard labor" every evening after hours for a week. As it turned out, however, the labor was not so very hard.

Undoubtedly it would give a false picture of the racial situation in America if we were to judge by this story alone. Of course, there are hundreds of organizations, groups, and individuals in this country that are working to promote interracial cooperation and understanding. It is unfortunate that the U. S. government cannot be definitely listed in this category. The great influence of our government might well be directed toward breaking down race barriers rather than strengthening them. But, instead, the reactionary policy of our army and navy sides with the Southern bureaucrats.

Despite my brief encounter with Southern M.P.s, I don't believe that Negro and white soldiers could not get along together. At the present time, for instance, I am studying at a school for Medical Department Technicians in the West. Duplication of all the facilities here would involve too much extra expense and confusion; hence in this corner of the army, at least, Negroes—and Filipinos also—attend classes with whites, eat in the same mess-halls, and do all the same work together. It is true that the Negroes tend to cluster together; Filipinos also. But I have never seen any signs of friction whatever since I have been here

Japanese-Americans Get a Home

THE Fellowship's belief that the antagonism shown toward citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry by other sections of the population of the United States is not inherent in human nature and that this antagonism can be resolved by courageous and reconciling action, has been graphically proved by a recent occurrence in the city of Denver, Colorado.

Early in February, the Denver group of the F.O.R. was confronted with the problem of finding living quarters for Mitsuo and George Kashiwagi, and their families, who wished to resettle in Denver after having been released from a Relocation Center. One Fellowship member, who had been on the alert, reading all newspaper real-estate advertisements, discovered what she thought would be a suitable home for these people. Immediately, Margaret Rohrer who is F.O.R. Secretary for the Rocky Mountain Region, and two friends set out to investigate. They found the house to be situated in a typical middle-class neighborhood and owned by a naturalized American citizen who wanted to move and had no objections to renting to Japanese-Americans, but who was a trifle fearful of the reactions of her neighbors. Miss Rohrer lost no time in canvassing the neighborhood and reported back to the owner of the house that she had "really lovely neighbors," and that while there was some hesitancy on the part of one man, there was no serious objection to the Japanese-Americans moving in.

Agrees to Sign Lease

The home owner then decided to lease to the Kashiwagis and it was planned that the lease would be signed by both parties in the office of a Denver real-estate company two days later. On the designated morning, the prospective lessees, with their friends, gathered in the realty company's office to conclude the business arrangements with the lessor. The latter, upon arrival, said that she was "in the dog house" with the realty company and that its representative had refused to have anything to do with the signing of the lease with American-Japanese. One of his excuses was that the Kashiwagi children might not be welcome in the local grammar school. Nothing daunted, Miss Rohrer said that she would immediately contact the school principal and the president of the Parent Teachers Association, to ascertain their opinions, and asked the owner of the house if she would be willing to take the matter out of the hands of the realty company and have the lease signed in the office of her lawyer. She said that she would be so willing if she could be assured of the acceptance of the children in school. She also suggested that our friends contact a Japanese-American dentist who lived about two blocks from her property to find out what his experience had been as a resident of the community. That afternoon our friends called on both the principal of the school and the president of the P.T.A. and were assured by them that they knew of no reason why the children would not be acceptable and that there had already been one family of Japanese students in that particular school. Miss Rohrer also called on the dentist, who told her that his seven years' residence in the vicinity had been happy and that he was certain that if there were any organized protest against the family it would come through the local Improvement Association. A resident Japanese editor informed Miss Rohrer that the Colorado State Constitution protects lessor and lessee in such a situation, whether they be citizen or alien. With these assurances and letters of encouragement secured by Miss Rohrer from representative citizens of Denver, including leading pastors, the property owner, in her lawyer's office, signed a standard form of lease with the Kashiwagis and received rent for six months.

Subsequent Battle

The following evening the "bombs began to burst." The owner received telephone calls from representatives of the realty company and an Improvement Association. She was informed that they would fight her action and that they had "all the attorneys, wealth, and prestige" behind them. They tried to frighten her with suggestions of what might happen to the children and property if the Japanese family moved in. Immediately, the local F.O.R. moved into position on the opposite side of the "fighting line." Our forces contacted teachers, lawyers, prominent ministers, and a representative of the Federal Council of Churches, who agreed to write a letter to the leader of the opposition. Miss Rohrer called on the Denver War Relocation Authority office and explained the situation. She received advice from them recommending immediate occupancy of the house and saying that the situation probably would then ease up. Later, the owner of the house received another threatening telephone call from the real-estate office, hinting of possible violence. Our people at once contacted the police department, which was very cooperative and offered to send out a detective. However, by this time, the owner was so confused that she decided to break the lease. This she did not really wish to do and finally acceded to a request from our forces that she "break" the lease that she had signed and re-lease to Miss Rohrer who would allow the Japanese-American family to occupy the house. Consequently, a new lease was signed by our Secretary, and our victorious reconciling "army" advanced and occupied the disputed territory. Miss Rohrer and another Fellowship member took possession of the premises and telegraphed to the Relocation Center for the evacuee families to come on.

To date, the peace (or lease) has proved to be "just and durable." The Kashiwagis have moved into the house. Their children have enrolled in school and are making friends readily and rapidly and say that they like school very much. The day after arriving in Denver, two of the little girls said that "they were going out to find some friends in the neighborhood." They did. And now the two families are becoming happily and firmly entrenched in school life, community and church life, and the two young wives say that they can hardly believe "it is true." The husbands have secured fine positions in a Denver wholesale clothing company and their employer has asked them to go to a city further East to do some Easter buying. The neighbors have been extremely friendly and helpful, offering to do all they could to help the families get settled in their new home.

Miss Rohrer, who also had been occupying the house as a form of protection is now convinced that this is no longer necessary and has moved back to her former home.

Travel Fund Working

The Fellowship's Travel Loan Fund to help Japanese-Americans bridge the gap between their detention camp and a job opportunity in a distant city has begun to bear fruit. The first evacuee who borrowed from the Fund has gone out, secured work, and repaid the full amount borrowed. Others are making use of the Fund who will pay back later.

Developments in Congress

As we go to press there are some recent developments pertaining to the Japanese-American question that we should like to bring to our readers' attention. A bill that would grant right of citizenship to *issei* and others of Oriental descent has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Vito Marcantonio of New York. The bill, which has been referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, is intended to amend the Nationality Act of 1940. Also, Congressman Walter H. Judd, of Minnesota, formerly a missionary in China, recently demanded the repeal of the 1924 exclusion act, and it is understood that he may introduce a bill for repeal.

To date, 3,015 Japanese-American evacuees have been resettled and there are 3,434 more who have received permission to leave the Relocation Centers but who are unable to do so because they have not as yet obtained jobs on the outside.

News from the Peace Front

British Hold 78,000 Political Prisoners in India

UNCENSORED copies of the correspondence between Mohandas K. Gandhi and the Indian Viceroy, not previously available in this country, make it clear that Gandhi's hunger strike was a desperate plea for the release from prison and a fair trial for the arrested National Congress leaders and others, of whom 78,000 are reported to be in detention! Access to the correspondence in question was had by Betty Graham, an International News Service correspondent, just back from four years in China and India.

The Viceroy charged that Gandhi and his friends either planned violence or knew that it was bound to result from their action and were prepared to condone it. The Viceroy said that he was not making all his evidence known, "because time is not yet ripe."

Gandhi's reply may be stated in a few sentences: (1) "This I can say from the housetops, that I am as confirmed a believer in non-violence as I have ever been" [January 19]; (2) if there is evidence of any overt act of violence on the part of any of those whom the government is holding in prison, "surely the government have ample resources to deal with it" under established law, and ought to prefer charges and bring men to trial; (3) otherwise, detaining these people is a gross injustice and can lead only to evil for all concerned. "The only right course for the government seems to me to be to release the Congress leaders, to withdraw all repressive measures, and to explore ways and means of conciliation."

An Unimportant Incident?

Gandhi's fast has ended. He is recuperating. One gains from what is said and still more by what is not said by the American press that an unimportant, though momentarily exciting, "incident" is over and that all is quiet in India. That is a superficial and dangerously distorted view. Gandhi has succeeded once more in calling the attention of the world to the problem of India's freedom and to the stubborn refusal of the Churchill cabinet to reopen negotiations on that issue.

Nearly all elements in India are more united than ever behind Gandhi except, on the one hand, the most extreme reactionaries, and, on the other hand, the extreme terrorist revolutionaries around Bose, whom the Japanese have installed at Bangkok and with whom the British will have to make their final reckoning if the Indians fail to gain freedom under Gandhi's non-violent leadership.

Two Colleges Refuse

While colleges throughout the country are turning over their facilities to the military, word has come that at least two colleges recently have refused to do so. Earlham College, a Quaker institution at Richmond, Indiana, and Adrian College, a Methodist School in Adrian, Michigan, have taken this action.

Owing to the scarcity of students who are not subject to some form of military control, both colleges anticipate considerable difficulty in regard to finances and in other respects.

CPS Men Plan Social Action Conference

About fifty men, representing CPS camps throughout the country, will participate in a "conference on social action" to be held in Graham Taylor Hall, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, during the week of April 12 to 18. The conference has been initiated and developed entirely by the campers themselves. Meetings will begin at 1:30 p. m. on Monday, April 12 and will continue daily, morning, afternoon, and evening, through Saturday, April 17. Guest speakers will include A. J. Muste, Evan Thomas, Frank Olmstead, and R. Boland Brooks.

U.S.O. for C.O.s

The Civilian Service Center, an organization to meet the educational and recreational needs of CPS men, has been formed through the joint efforts of the New York Young Friends Fellowship, FOR, and WRL, at the Friends Center, 144 East 20th Street, New York City. It is a USO for CPS and will serve east coast camps, expanding to cover all the camps later on.

An important message for you — on the back cover. Be sure to read it.

FOR Sponsors New Youth Organization

An attempt to provide leadership fo young people in doing constructive an honest thinking about the problems o war and peace, race relations, labo and kindred subjects has resulted i the organization of THE FORE RUNNERS, to be sponsored by th Fellowship of Reconciliation. The ne group, which will be made up of youn people of high school age throughou the country, will be launched formall in local chapter meetings to be hel during the week of May 1. FO groups and teams are being asked t give leadership in organizing and guid ing such local chapters.

Members of THE FORERUN NERS will not be asked to subscrib to a pacifist position, but will be ex pected to agree to "explore the pos sibilities of world brotherhood."

A considerable quantity of literatur has been developed for the ne organization, including two forty-pag studybooks: *New Wars for Old,* b Frank Olmstead, and *Pattern fo Peacemakers,* by R. Alfred Hassler. I addition, a *Leader's Manual* has bee prepared for adult leaders of loc chapters, and a variety of leaflet pamphlets, etc.

National headquarters of TH FORERUNNERS will be located a 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Methodist Youth Ask C.O. Support

The Council of Bishops of th Methodist Church has been called upo to include an appeal for funds for con scientious objectors in future denomina tion-wide efforts to raise money fo overseas relief and service to Methodi youth in the armed forces. The re quest came in the form of a resolutio from the California Area Council o the Methodist Youth Fellowship, mee ing on March 1. It pointed out tha although special periods, such as "Com passion Sunday" and "Dedicatio Week," had been set aside by th Council of Bishops, no mention of sup port of the conscientious objectors ha been made on these days. The Yout Council urged that Methodists ge erally be advised of the cause of th C.O.s. and be given opportunity t mark individual gifts for this purpose

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Herman Will, Jr., 740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; *Northern California:* Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 1411 West 22nd Street, Los Angeles, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Rohrer, 1418 Grape Street, Denver, Colo.; *Rural:* Carl J. Landes, Merom, Ind.; *Refugee:* Marion Frenyear, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Hearings Continue on Manpower Legislation

As this is written, hearings are continuing on the Austin-Wadsworth Bill —conscription of women and labor. The National Committee on Conscription of Women, with Mildred Scott Olmstead, 1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., as executive secretary, is doing splendid work. Such churchwomen as Georgia Harkness, Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce, Mrs. Allan Knight Chalmers, and Mary Ely Lyman are supporting this work. Many local churchwomen's organizations are supplying all their members with its literature.

Strong opposition to compulsory labor and conscription of women has developed. The President himself recently suggested that it might be best to continue to try voluntary methods for at least a while longer. There is no question but that poor organization of production, lack of materials, failure to use the labor and skills of Negroes, etc. are largely responsible for manpower "shortages." The Austin-Wadsworth Bill may be laid on the shelf; but vigilance must not be relaxed. Especially must all possible opposition be rallied if the administration drafts or supports an all-out conscription measure. As one Christian leader said recently: "It is tragic to see that this nation, having adopted total war, is now skidding into the ditch of total regimentation."

Peace Strategy Board To Meet Monthly

Two meetings recently have been held under the chairmanship of A. J. Muste, of a group informally representing the various pacifist and anti-war organizations. It has taken the name of Peace Strategy Board and will meet monthly in the future, and oftener if necessary. It is not a new organization and will not make policy for existing organizations, but will be an instrument for coordinating activity.

Warren Mullin, of the National Council for Prevention of War, and Dorothy Detzer, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, will get out a fortnightly *Peace Information Service,* mainly devoted to keeping pacifist workers informed about developments in Congress and Washington agencies. A letter soon will go out to a selected list of workers culled from the local leaders of all cooperating groups, and arranged by Congressional districts, calling for enlistment in peace activity. It is hoped, on the one hand, to eliminate duplication in material going out to local contacts and, on the other hand, to reach Congressmen more effectively through their own constituents.

The chief subject for discussion at the April meeting will be a campaign to "win the peace by the earliest possible termination of the war."

Annual Interracial Work Camp to Be Held

A five-week interracial work camp, to be held at Linton, Tennessee, from July 12 through August 16, has been announced by Constance Rumbough, Southern Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The camp will be the third successive interracial effort sponsored by the Southern group.

The project will involve putting into shape a recreational camp owned by the Nashville Negro Y.W.C.A. The camp is located 18 miles from Nashville in a typical rural southern community made up of about an equal amout of white and colored farmers. It is hoped that from 15 to 20 men and women, Negro and white, will attend the work camp. Living expenses on a cooperative basis are expected to be about four dollars a week. Each camper will manage his own transportation. Campers should be 18 years of age or over, and in good physical condition. At least half of the campers will be expected to remain for the full five weeks' period, and none will be signed up for less than two weeks.

Federal Council Offers 6-Point Peace Program

A six-point peace program, calling for American participation in an international political alliance of all the nations of the world, has been made public by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The program came as a result of a two year's study by the Commission to Study the Basis of a Just and Durable Peace under the chairmanship of John Foster Dulles.

The six-point program, for which the Federal Council hopes to obtain adoption by the Congress and Administration as official policy, stipulates the following:

1. International political collaboration based on the present unity of the United Nations.
2. Control of economic and financial acts which may disturb international peace.
3. Establishment of an organization to adapt the treaty structure to changing conditions.
4. Autonomy for subject peoples.
5. International control of armaments.
6. Religious and intellectual liberty.

26,000 Copies

That's how many copies of "School Children and the War" have been distributed. Join other FOR groups in getting this valuable leaflet to teachers, ministers, and others.

$.02 per copy; $1.50 per hundred

Literature Department

Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway, N. Y.

Book Review

Coercion of States: In Federal Unions, by Harrop Freeman and Theodore Paullin. Pacifist Research Bureau. 1201 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., 68 pages, 25c.

This is a timely study and should be read by all interested in a world organization. It deals with the question as to how far force has been necessary in the formation and preservation of the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Union of South Africa, Canada, Australia, Germany, Brazil, and Russia, as well as the Greek federations and the Hanseatic League. The authors find that federations and leagues of states have broken up when unity depended upon police and armies. They have been successful to the degree that unity has been achieved through the action of more intangible forces with the elimination of the causes of friction. The conclusion is that we cannot achieve a unified world state through military force, used either by Hitler or by the United Nations. The defeat of the Southern cause in the Civil War is attributed to "heroic people endeavoring to check the inevitable sweep of the century" and not to the armies of the North. Coercion is a disruptive and not a cohesive influence. The authors quote approvingly from John Dewey, saying: "I think no reasonable person will hold that the coercive force of the federal government is chiefly or in any large degree that which keeps the various states together; or that it is a factor of any great importance as compared with the bonds of common tradition, habit of mind, beliefs, information, intercommunication, commerce, etc., which tie the people of the states together. Nor can I imagine any sensible person today, who, when he looks at rivalries of interest and latent friction between sections which still exist, would urge as a remedy the strengthening of coercive force exercised from above upon them." *Coercion of States: In Federal Unions* should be read by all before deciding we need a "league with teeth in it."

C. H. Hamlin.

New Reading

Written for young people, these study booklets will also have value for adults whose reading time is limited.

Publication April 15

New Wars for Old

By FRANK OLMSTEAD

Pattern for Peacemakers

By R. ALFRED HASSLER

25 cents each

For "Communiteers"

Decentralization Booklist

By MILDRED JENSON LOOMIS

Five Cents

Literature Department

Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway, N. Y.

CPS Communiqué

SINCE the middle of February, two Fellowship members — Stanley Murphy and Louis Taylor—have been on a hunger strike in Danbury Prison. Beginning with the fourth week of the fast they have been forcibly fed. A third FOR member, George Kingsley, has joined them in refusal to do prison work, but not in fasting.

All three were IV E men who had served many months in CPS—nearly a year and a half in the case of two of them. Their present stand is against the whole regime of conscription for war purposes; against the failure of the Selective Service Act to provide complete exemption for sincere men who cannot accept any compulsory service under such a law; against what they regard as degrading and punitive boondoggling and "made work" to which many men in CPS camps are subjected; and against what they regard as the fundamental evil in our federal prison system.

The National Executive Committee of the FOR has sent a letter to President Roosevelt, Attorney General Biddle, and General Louis Hershey which, in part, said: "Such costly fidelity to conviction and conscience as these men are displaying may not lightly be disregarded.

"The Selective Service Act places in your hands unlimited authority to determine what constitutes 'service of national importance under civilian auspices,' which men adjudged to be sincere C.O.s on 'grounds of religious training and belief' may render. We plead with you, therefore:

"To take immediate steps to put an end to a situation under which hundreds of men eager to use their abilities and training in works of social usefulness—many of them eager to volunteer for dangerous service abroad or in this country—are kept for months and even years at work which does not fully utilize their energies and abilities and which meets no immediate or major need, while labor is desperately needed in hospitals, schools, and other social agencies, and the heads of many of these agencies are asking that competent C.O.s be assigned to them.

"We urge you to arrange for men who cannot conscientiously accept any compulsory alternative service under a war-conscription law, and who believe that the work which they have voluntarily chosen is that to which they are called by God and conscience, to remain in that work. Several thousand so-called 'absolutist' C.O.s. in Great Britain today have such complete exemption. We see no reason why this nation should be behind Great Britain in this matter, nor any reason why we, any more than Great Britain, should be injured thereby.

"We urge that a way be found to release Murphy, Taylor, and Kingsley from prison and to allow them to render the service to mankind and to the democratic and religious convictions to which they feel called by an authority which is above man."

Compulsory Farm Labor

At the same time that the hunger strike in Danbury became known, the Selective Service Administration proposed closing all the soil conservation camps of CPS and to force their members to go to work on farms for private employers. This was intended to help meet the national farm labor shortage. The FOR Executive Committee declared its opposition in the following minute:

"We are unalterably opposed to associating the Fellowship of Reconciliation with the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, or the Service Committees, which we have been supporting financially and in other ways, in the *making* or *accepting* of an agreement with the Selective Service Administration whereby conscientious objectors are forced to work for private employers. Even such outstanding supporters of the war as Bernard Baruch have pointed out that this is involuntary servitude, labor slavery. We are likewise opposed to associating the FOR with the NSBRO or any pacifist agency taking any part, for example, in the *administration* of any plan under which C.O.s are forced to work for private employers. If the government has come to the point where it desires to impose such an out-and-out fascist measure, the government alone must take the responsibility for instituting and enforcing such a measure; and the individual C.O. must take the responsibility for submitting or refusing to submit to such enslavement. In any case, the FOR can take no part in any agreement, any contract, for carrying out any such measure, any more than in a contract to manufacture munitions or bombers."

We are glad to report that many Friends, and others, shared our conviction and that Selective Service withdrew the proposal. As things now stand, only C.O.s who *volunteer* will go to work for private employers. It seems likely that the "maintenance" that is provided for such workers will henceforth be so defined as to include not only food and board, but medical attention, and an allowance of $15. per month—instead of $2.50 as formerly—to provide for work clothes, etc. Selective Service and the Treasury Department still insist on withholding the remainder of the C.O.s' wages; but it is agreed that it will be kept in escrow until after the war, when, it is hoped, Congress might vote to allow the money to be used for some purpose of which pacifists might approve. This is far from satisfactory, but a great improvement over the original proposal.

In general, the FOR Executive Committee feels that Selective Service seems increasingly disposed to make unilateral decisions regarding alternative service, based on the "concept that C.O.s must contribute to the war effort in ways determined by the agencies of a war government, or otherwise be subjected to segregation and punishment." If this is the case, then "it can no longer be maintained that CPS is in an important degree a voluntary witness to a pacifist way of life and a demonstration of the pacifist's desire to render constructive service to society at some cost to himself.

"If this is the situation which has now been created and no acceptable alternative is offered, we hope that pacifist agencies will immediately consider taking steps to abandon all administrative and financial responsibility for the government's alternative service program. FOR would, for its part, no longer be able to share in such responsibilities. Pacifist agencies such as NSBRO might then serve a useful purpose in criticising unsound government proposals, urging the effective utilization of C.O.s in public service in connection, e.g. with what has been called 'detached service,' in seeking to protect the civil liberties of C.O.s and any rights to which the laws and regulations entitle them, and in representing the concerns of C.O.s before Selective Service, the Department of Justice, and other government agencies."

As we go to press these and related issues are still unsolved. They require the most careful thought and earnest prayer on the part of all of us.

In the midst of so much that is disquieting there are some gratifying developments. The President himself has given the American Friends Service Committee a letter approving the sending of seventy C.O.s to China on a special service. Thus the ban against C.O.s being used in foreign service seems to be broken. The number of C.O.s assigned to mental hospitals is increasing, and some notable applications of pacifist methods in dealing with patients are being made.

Some additional men have been paroled from federal prisons to CPS camps and there are indications that a number presently may be released under the general parole laws to work in hospitals and other social institutions. And Federal Judge Leon R. Yankwitch, in the U. S. District Court in Los Angeles, sent E. V. Johnson, an "absolutist" C.O.—before him for refusal to register or carry a card—back to his home in the mountains. As Johnson put it, "The Judge ordered me to live in freedom."

Pro and Con

More About CPS

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The tendency of policy in Selective Service in its relations with NSBRO and the other agencies has always been toward inflexible regulation and punitive punishment for infringement of those regulations. Every day has brought this fact out more strongly; militaristic minds have reacted against the failure of the camp directors to "run things as they should be run."

Results of any violation of Selective Service regulations, whether the rule is written or not, are slow to make themselves felt, but none the less real. One example of the violation penalty for a written regulation is the furlough penalty for AWOL and RTW (refusal to work) listings. An example of penalty for violating an unwritten code or standard is the rejection of applications from CPS men for transfer to other projects. A very clear case of the latter is now being battled over in Washington.

Four men of this camp recently applied for transfer to a new mental-hospital project in Pennsylvania. Three of the men had been turned down a month before because of "inability to adjust to camp requirements." All three of the men had been in CPS over eighteen months. The hospital superintendent of the project personally visited the camp and interviewed each candidate. The men in question revealed to him their status with Selective Service and in spite of a full knowledge of the records of these men, the superintendent wrote a personal recommendation for each man, asking Selective Service to send those specific men to his project; they were acceptable to the superintendent.

The transfers were sent to Camp Operations by AFSC, in the accepted procedure. Camp Operations Division of Selective Service again rejected the three men, and another, newer, man as well.

The fate of these four men is relatively unimportant, personally, although it will make them even more discontented. What matters is the effect on CPS of subservience to this type of attitude on the part of Selective Service. The religious agencies go to great expense to maintain CPS as a program of administering conscientious objectors by *civilian* direction. On this hope of a more liberal handling by civilians than might be expected of the military many people give money to the cause. But the Camp Operations Division, sprinkled with uniformed colonels and majors, and ex-military men, cannot be termed a civilian organization. It operates with a real sense of militaristic discipline. The fact that there are civilian *directors* in the camps matters little if the policies of Camp Operations, militaristic in nature, veto the policies of the camp directors, or of the religious agencies.

If we want a militaristic administration for objectors, we can easily get it by ceasing to oppose Selective Service policies. But we must not be fooled into thinking that because the religious agencies pay for the program, they are necessarily insuring that the camps are not under military control. They are.

Because Selective Service would blacklist me for such an expression as represented in this letter and that blacklisting would mean an end to my opportunity to be transferred, I cannot sign my name to this letter; I hope it does not trouble you too much that the men in CPS are no longer permitted freedom of expression without fear of punitive reprisal.

PAPA PAX.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The fundamental issues in the controversy over the CPS camps are not matters of opinion but of fact. Opinions differ as to the constructive nature of the work in most camps, also as to the influence of the camp life on C.O.s and the community. Again it is a matter of opinion whether pacifists could or could not win a better administration of the law by altering their tactics. These are all matters of opinion which may be important but are certainly not fundamental compromises with principle.

The fact that the NSBRO, with the best of intentions, entered into an agreement with secular authority to maintain and administer conscripted labor in which the individual is given no choice between accepting that labor and going to prison is a contradiction of well-established principle in the relationship of church and state. Under this agreement the churches participating became equally guilty with the state in violating conscience, if a single conscripted individual is forced from camp to prison because of his conscientious convictions.

Pacifists would do well to refresh their memories of the great arguments used in the past for complete religious liberty and separation of church and state. If they have forgotten the magnificient tradition of the Quakers and Protestant Church as a whole on the subject of religious freedom, they might well turn to the writings of Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and the late Justice Holmes for enlightment.

EVAN W. THOMAS.

The Evil in Conscription

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

All of us, as conscientious objectors to war, oppose any conscription which would require us to bear arms. Very good. But a portion of us are maintaining that other forms of conscription, to do things to which we are personally not opposed, is morally quite legitimate. This seems to me the gravest weakness into which we could fall, and for a reason which I believe has completely escaped consideration.

For in adopting such a view, does not a pacifist overlook that he is subscribing to either one or the other intolerance, viz., that pacifism is the sole conscientious scruple that can be properly involved in a rejection of conscription, or that only a pacifist is entitled to follow the dictates of his conscience?

Humanitarians who believe that man's responsibility toward life extends not alone to man but in due measure to all our fellow creatures, may have conscientious scruples against participation in any number of civilian activities they consider cruel. Some, from ethical or religious motives, go so far as to oppose any shedding of blood, animal or human. Other conscientious persons, as prohibitionists, may have a moral repugnance to still other employments.

I am sure, once it is considered, that none of us will deny that a man who gives up that gastronomic delicacy, meat, from a feeling of fellowship for the victim, is as clearly actuated by conscience if he refuses to be drafted to, let us say, animal husbandry or the biologic laboratory, as is any conscientious objector in refusing to be drafted to the equivalent human exploitations of the battlefield.

And if it is argued that a choice of employment is visualized in an "unobjectionable" conscription, may I cite my own conscientious objection not alone to employments involving bloodshed, cruelty, exploitation, and demoralization, but (as the vegetarian in rejecting meat) to an imposition upon me of the fruits of torture, as vaccinations and inoculations, all originating in vivisection, which I hold to be identical in essence with war. To evidence the numerical strength of this one conscientious scruple alone, so great is the opposition to vaccination-inoculation in England, that every one of these processes has had there to be made completely voluntary in all the armed services, with some twenty per cent of the troops standing out in whole or part.

In a word, the fundamental wickedness of conscription impresses me as not being even that it is the means by which wars are waged, but that it is the supreme weapon for regimenting us to the commission and support of actions which the light as we are given to see it shows us as wrong.

ANNA C. WINLOW.

Want to Work on a Farm?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Since there will be an "all out" effort to place high school boys and girls on the farm for the summer, and no doubt a similar effort to get college girls to take over a "man's job," I find many young people interested. I have a communication on my desk now from a Kansas girl studying at the University of Missouri. She says:

"Since there is such a great farm labor shortage in the country, and college students are going to be asked to work on farms wherever possible—the emphasis being on women taking over men's jobs in many cases—I'm wondering if there aren't some pacifist farmers who would like to have some girl or girls (or boys) with the same viewpoint working for them this summer."

So, I would like to raise two questions: (1) Are there pacifist farmers who would like either girls or boys for summer work? (2) Are there pacifist girls or boys who would like to work for a pacifist farmer this summer?

CARL J. LANDES.

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

A Job to Be Done!

The Army has taken over most American colleges, and the militarization of our high schools proceeds with appalling swiftness. There is an obligation upon us — now! — to provide other leadership for thoughtful young people of high school age, to help them to prepare for the struggle to banish war and tyranny from the earth. To this end, the Fellowship of Reconciliation is sponsoring —

THE FORERUNNERS

WHAT IT IS

A study-discussion-action organization for young people of high school age who will commit themselves to a "search for brotherhood." Members of The Forerunners will not be asked to accept the full pacifist position but will explore the possibilities of using new methods in overcoming war, race hatred, etc.

HOW IT WILL WORK

A national headquarters, at 2929 Broadway, New York, will prepare and issue study booklets, a monthly newsletter, and similar materials. Local "chapters" will be organized and guided by F.O.R. members or others who are interested in doing this sort of work. Each chapter will develop its own program of study and action.

How You Can Help

Unequipped with limitless funds and means of propagandizing, this work is completely dependent on you. If you feel its urgency, please act on the following points:

1. **Fill out the coupon below and mail at once.**
2. **Purchase a Leader's Work Kit. (50¢).**
3. **Make a list of prospective members of The Forerunners and send it to the national office.**
4. **Take leadership yourself, or locate a good leader, for a local chapter. Help the leader make contact with prospective members. Prepare for a *launching meeting* to be held during the week of May 1.**
5. **Enlist the help of your local F.O.R. in supplying a "Forerunners Work Kit" to each member of the local chapter. (Kits, 50¢ each).**
6. **Distribute among high school age young people small folders: *True or False?* and *Help Wanted.* (Quantities supplied free on request to national office).**

Mail This Today

Fellowship of Reconciliation,
2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

I am with you in the job of making The Forerunners a success. Please send me complete information about it. Also please send me the following:

_____ **Leader's Work Kits, @ 50¢.**

_____ **Leader's Manual, @ 15¢, if ordered separately.**

_____ **Forerunners Work Kits (for members), @ 50¢.**

_____ ***New Wars for Old*, @ 25¢.**

_____ ***Pattern for Peacemakers*, @ 25¢.**

_____ **each, of the three membership leaflets, Free.**

Name _____

Address _____

_____

[THIS MATERIAL WILL BE READY]

Note: Items marked (L) are included in Leader's Work Kit; items marked (F) are in Forerunners Work Kit, for youth members.

1. **Forerunners Studybook: *New Wars for Old.* 25¢. (L, F)**
2. **Forerunners Studybook: *Pattern for Peacemakers.* 25¢. (L, F)**
3. **Leader's Manual. 15¢. (L)**
4. **Membership certificate. Free. (L, F)**
5. **Wall chart for members. 5¢. (L, F)**
6. **Membership folders: (1) *Announcing . . .*; (2) *True or False?*; (3) *Help Wanted.* (L—samples).**
7. **Membership application card. (L)**
8. ***The Why and How of Meditation*, by Allan Hunter. 5¢. (L, F)**
9. ***Interracial Primer*, by Bayard Rustin. 15¢. (L)**
10. **First issue, *The Forerunner*, monthly newsletter to members. (L, F)**